

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ISO-00 EB-07 STR-04 OMB-01 OIC-02

CU-02 OES-03 COME-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SCA-01

SIL-01 LAB-04 /103 W

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O R 071107Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3565

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 301

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USCOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4280

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, PARM, EGEN, EEWT, SGEN, XG

SUBJ: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - JUNE 2 - 6

1. SUMMARY: CSCE MADE A MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH THIS WEEK, WHEN  
THE SOVIETS CAME UP WITH A WHOLE STRING OF CONCESSIONS WHICH  
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MADE IT POSSIBLE TO REACH INFORMAL AGREEMENT ON VIRTUALLY

ALL REMAINING ISSUES IN THE HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION SECTIONS OF BASKET III. THIS INCLUDED SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF MAJOR WESTERN PROPOSALS ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, AN INTRODUCTION TO THE INFORMATION SECTION, AND RADIO BROADCASTING. DESPITE THE FACT THAT CONCRETE PROGRESS ELSEWHERE WAS UNSPECTACULAR THIS DRAMATIC SOVIET EFFORT FAIRLY WELL ELIMINATED BASKET III AS A MAJOR EAST-WEST PROBLEM, AND MADE IT POSSIBLE ONCE AGAIN TO ENVISAGE THE POSSIBILITY OF A STAGE III SUMMIT IN JULY. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES WAS CONSPICUOUS EXCEPTION TO GENERAL PROGRESS IN CONFERENCE DURING WEEK. WHILE IT DID AGREE THAT TWO PARAGRAPHS STATING CONFORMITY OF PRINCIPLES TO UN CHARTER AND SUPPORT OF PARTICIPATING STATES FOR UN WERE READY FOR PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION -- A FIRST IN NEARLY TWO-MONTH LONG EXERCISE OF DRAFTING LANGUAGE FOR GENERAL CLAUSES -- IT FAILED TO RESOLVE LAST ISSUES IN INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE OR TO BEGIN DRAFTING ON MAIN ELEMENTS OF PREAMBLE, AND ROMANIANS DEVELOPED SOME SUPPORT FOR THEIR EFFORT TO AMEND DELICATE SOVIET-FRENCH COMPROMISE LANGUAGE ON EQUAL VALUE AND INTERPRETATION OF PRINCIPLES. AT END OF WEEK SOVIETS LAUNCHED CAMPAIGN TO STEAMROLL REMAINING ISSUES, CONTRASTING SUBCOMMITTEE'S "POLITICAL IRRESPONSIBILITY" WITH PROGRESS MADE BY OTHER SUBCOMMITTEES. SOVIETS INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT THEY INTEND TO TAKE TOUGH LINE ON OUTSTANDING ISSUES IN PREAMBLE OF CONCERN TO THEM. QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES REMAINED ON DEAD CENTER FOR WEEK AS BONN GROUP DELS (EXCEPT UK) POINTED OUT TO FRENCH DIFFICULTIES THEY HAD WITH SENTENCE FRENCH AND YUGOSLAVS HAD DEVELOPED. SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION AGAIN PRODUCED NO CHANGE IN ESTABLISHED VIEWS ON SWISS PROPOSAL FOR A POST-CONFERENCE MEETING ON ELABORATION OF SYSTEM FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

3. MILITARY SECURITY -- SOVIETS ARE MAINTAINING STRONG DRIVE TO WRAP UP MEASURE ON ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF CONFIDENTIAL

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MANEUVERS, AND HAVE PRESSED BOTH NEUTRALS AND ALLIES TO COME UP WITH ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE FIGURES ON AREA, THRESHOLD, AND TIMING. AS BENCHMARK FOR THE OTHER TWO PARAMETERS, AUSTRIAN CHAIRMAN OF INFORMAL MEETING ON JUNE 6 PROPOSED 300 KMS FOR AREA OF APPLICATION. SOVIETS AND NATO ALLIES DID NOT REJECT THIS FIGURE, BUT POSITIONS ARE STILL FAR APART ON AN ACCEPTABLE THRESHOLD, WITH SOVIETS SAYING THAT THEY CANNOT GO BELOW 30,000 TROOPS,

AND SOME ALLIES STILL ARGUNING THAT TO GO OVER 18,000 WOULD REDUCE PARTICIPATION IN IMPLEMENTATION OF MEASURE TO SMALL NUMBER OF CSCE PARTICIPANTS AND WOULD HENCE BE POLITICALLY UNDESIRABLE. NEVERTHELESS, WE EXPECT THAT RESOLUTION OF THRESHOLD ISSUE WILL BE NECESSARY IN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS, AND THAT RELUCTANT ALLIES WILL BE BROUGHT TO FIGURE IN THE MID-TWENTIES. ON OTHER PENDING MANEUVERS ISSUES, COMPLEX BEHIND-THE -SCENES CONSULTATIONS CONTINUE TO INTERRELATED PROBLEMS OF ZONE OF APPLICATION ON SOVIET COASTS IN BALTIC AND BLACK SEAS AND APPLICATION IN TURKEY. SOLUTION OF THIS ISSUE THAT WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO SWEDEN, TURKEY, USSR AND CYPRUS HAS NOT YET EMERGED. SMALL GROUP WITHIN ALLIED CAUCUS IS AT WORK TRYING TO PREVENT THIS PROBLEM FORM BECOMING AN INTRA-ALLIED (E.G. GREEK-TURKISH) ISSUE. AS SOON AS OUTLINES OF SETTLEMENT ON PARAMETERS AND SPEICAL AREA PROBLEMS ARE CLEARER, SUBCOMMITTEE WILL BEGIN INTENSIVE DRAFTING, IN WHIH A NUMBER OF LESS CENTRAL DORMANT ISSUES WILL NEED TO BE RESOLBED. INTENSIVE DRAFTING STAGE MAY BEGIN AS EARLY AS NEXT WEEK.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- GULL COMMITTEE, IN AN EFFORT TO MOVE OFF DEAD CENTER ON THE OUTSTANDING KEY ISSUES WHICH HAVE NOT RECENTLY BEEN DISCUSSED IN THE FORMAL MEETINGS, DECIDED TO START SCHEDULING INFORMAL MEETINGS WHERE ALL THE INTERRELATED OUTSTANDING ISSUES CAN BE CONSIDERED TOGETHER. IN FORMAL MEETINGS, FULL COMMITTEE REMAINED DEADLOCKED ON THE DEVELOPING COUNTRY TEXT BUT SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES MADE PROGRESS ON THE SAFEGUARDS TEXT. IN INFORMAL MEETINGS ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SOVIETS DRAMITICALLY REDUCED THEIR DEMANDS FOR SUBSTANTIVE REVISIONS TO AGREED TEXTS, AND SUBCOMMITTEE

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WORK MAY THUS BE NEARING SPEEDY CONCLUSION. OTHER AREAS SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF MIGRANT LABOR TEXT.

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- THE SOVIETS DELIVERED ON THEIR PROMISE OF LAST WEEK OF NEW FLEXIBILITY, ENABLING NATO AND SOVIET DELS TO AGREE INFORMALLY ON VIRTUALLY ALL OUTSTANDING ISSUES IN HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION. WORK PROCEEDED AT AN ASTONISHING PACE, PERMITTING COMPLETION OF TEXTS ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION, INTRODUCTION TO INFORMATION SECTION, RADIO BROADCASTING, AND, MOST IMPORT, THE FULL TEXT ON WORKING CONDITIONS OFR JOURNALISTS. IF THE PRESENT MOMENTUM CAN BE MAINTAINED, AND ROMAIAN RESERVATIONS ON THE JOURNALISTS TEXT OVER-

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 EB-07 STR-04 OMB-01 OIC-02 CU-02

OES-03 COME-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SCA-01 SIL-01

LAB-04 IO-10 /103 W

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O R 071107Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3566

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 302

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

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AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

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COME, ALL HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION TEXTS SHOULD  
BE COMPLETED EARLY NEXT WEEK. SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE  
ALSO MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS DURING WEEK. MINI-GROUP  
FORWARDED TO PARENT BODY PROPOSAL CONCENRING ACCESS TO  
BOOKS AND ARTISTIC WORKS, DESIGNED TO SERVE AS BASIS  
FOR COMPROMISE. MINI-GROUP ALSO NEARED AGREEMENT ON STATE-  
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MENT OF COMMON OBJECTIVES IN PREAMBULAR TEXT FOR CULTURE. ON THE OTHER HAND, SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION IS STILL STALEMATED ON YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL REGARDING THE EDUCATION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES.

6. MEDITERRANEAN -- NEW MALTESE PROPOSAL FOR AN OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH IN MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION SUGGESTING MEDITERRANEAN-ARAB COOPERATION AND WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET AND US FORCES FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN RAN INTO HEAVY, BROADLY BASED OPPOSITION. THE WARSAW PACT JOINED WITH EC-NINE AND MOST NATO MEMBERS IN APPEAL TO MALTA TO WITHDRAW THIS TEXT. MALTA HAS SO FAR RESPONDED WITH A DEFENSE OF ITS PARAGRAPH AND THE THREAT THAT IT WILL IMPOSE A REGIME OF "PARALLELED PROGRESS" IN OTHER COMMITTEES. SO FAR THERE ARE NO SIGNS THAT MALTA WILL EASILY RETREAT. IN FACT THE FASTER PACE OF CSCE WORK AS A WHOLE HAS ACTUALLY STRENGTHENED THE MISCHIEF-MAKING POTENTIAL OF THE MALTESE POSITION ON THIS TEXT.

7. FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III -- TACIT AGREEMENT BEGAN TO EMERGE ON MANY SECONDARY ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS OF STAGE III. MAIN ISSUES WHICH REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED ARE TIMING AND LEVEL, DURATION, GUESTS, COMMUNIQUE, AND METHOD FOR ESTABLISHING SPEAKERS LIST. DISCUSSION OF FINAL DOCUMENTS WAS DORMANT.

8. FOLLOW-UP -- EC-NINE ARE CURRENTLY WORKING ON A SLIGHT REVISION OF THE DANISH PROPOSAL, BUT DO NOT EXPECT TO BE ABLE TO OBTAIN CLEARER GUIDELINES AND SIGNIFICANT NEGOTIATING LEeway UNTIL THE NEXT MEETING OF THE EC-NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS. THE SOVIETS MEANWHILE ARE TAKING SOUNDINGS, SHOWING A GROWING SENSE OF URGENCY, AND SUGGESTING THAT THEIR OBJECTIVES COULD BE MET BY A HIGHLY "POLITICIZED" FOLLOW-UP WITH LITTLE OR NO POLICING OF IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE AGREEMENTS (I.E. ON BASKET III), AND BY A CLEAR COMMITMENT TO A SECOND FULL-SCALE CSCE CONFERENCE. THE NEUTRALS FOR THEIR PART ARE GROWING INCREASINGLY IMPATIENT WITH THE CONTINUING FORMAL INACTIVITY IN THE FOLLOW-UP WORKING GROUP, WHICH IS THE RESULT OF SLOW BEHIND THE SCENES MANOEUVERING.

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9. COMMENT: THERE IS NO QUESTION NOW THAT THE SOVIETS

ARE OUT TO NAIL DOWN THE JULY SUMMIT THEY WANT -- AND THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS TO ACHIEVE THIS. THEY ARE WELL AWARE THAT THE FINNISH REQUIREMENT FOR FOUR WEEKS NOTICE FOR CONVENING STAGE III MEANS A DECISION ON TIMING WILL HAVE TO BE REACHED NO LATER THAN ABOUT JUNE 20, AND THEIR CONCESSION ON HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION MAINLY WERE DESIGNED TO ENSURE THAT SUCH A DECISION WILL BE IN FAVOR OF A JULY SUMMIT. THE SOVIETS ARE ALSO WELL AWARE THAT THE OTHER MAJOR AREA OF WESTERN INTEREST IS CBM'S, AND WE EXPECT THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO MAKE A SIMILAR DRIVE TO COMPLETE WORK ON THIS SUBJECT NEXT WEEK. IF THEY SUCCEED IN CONCLUDING WORK ON CBM'S AS WELL, A JULY STAGE III WILL BE VIRTUALLY INEVITABLE. END COMMENT.

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** BASKETT III, MEETING REPORTS, JOURNALISTS, WORKING CONDITIONS, RESOLUTIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 07 MAY 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GarlanWA  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Office:** ACTION EUR  
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**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

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**To:** STATE  
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